

Aspects of tenseless relative clauses in Basque

XABIER ARTIAGOITIA

(University of Washington)

This article is concerned with some aspects of relative clause formation in Basque that have thus far remained unnoticed in the generative tradition: the behavior of tenseless relative clauses (TRC henceforth)*. My purpose here will be mainly descriptive in that I will solely concentrate on the striking parallelisms and similarities between tensed relative clauses in Basque (the subject matter of extensive studies by de Rijk 1972, Oyharçabal 1986, 1988, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Artiagoitia 1990) and their little studied tenseless counterparts. Consequently, the discussion of some theoretical issues has been left aside in some cases in favor of a clear presentation of previously unknown paradigms. The introductory part reviews the main facts concerning tensed relatives. Section 2 introduces the reader to the typology of tenseless relative clauses in Basque; the following sections each present the relevant data showing how tenseless relatives mirror and relate to the behavior of tensed relatives.

1. On Tensed Relative Clauses

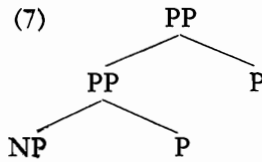
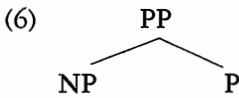
Let us now summarize the basic facts of relativization in Basque. As de Rijk (1972) first noted, a gap in a relative clause needs not correspond to a bare NP but can also be a Postpositional Phrase (be it an argument or an adjunct) as long as the *null* postposition is the locative, ablative, goal or instrumental case; any other PP (headed by the commitative, benefactive, motivative cases/endings) cannot be a gap in a relative clause. The following examples, where the paradigmatic cases of the locative and the commitative endings have been chosen, illustrate the point:

*. This research was funded by a grant from the Department of Education, Universities and Research of the Government of the Basque Country. Thanks to I. Laka for helping me with some aspects of the data and to Antxon Olarrea for his comments on the manuscript. The reader should be aware of the following abbreviations, used throughout the article: A(bsolute), abl(ative), aux(iliary), ben(efactive), com(mitative), D(ative), E(rgative), gen(itive), lit(erally), loc(ative), Op(erator, null), part(itive).

- (1) Ainhoak Asierrek *e* erosi duen liburua irakurri du.
 buy aux-n book read aux
 Ainhoa has read the book that Asier bought
- (2a) Ainhoa *e* bizi den hiria urrun dago hemendik.
 live aux-n city far is here-abl
 The city Ainhoa lives (*'in'*) is far from here
- (2b) Ainhoa *biria-n* bizi da.
 city-loc
 Ainhoa lives in the city
- (3a) Ainhoak *e* lanegiten duen eskola nahiko berria da.
 work aux-n school quite new is
 The school Ainhoa works (*'at'*) is quite new
- (3b) Ainhoak *eskola-n* lanegiten du.
 school-loc
 Ainhoa works at the school
- (4a) *Asier *e* ezkonduko den neska Bilbokoa da.
 get-married aux-n girl Bilbao-gen is
 The young woman Asier will get married (*'with'*) is from Bilbao
- (4b) Asier *neska-re-kin* ezkonduko da
 young woman-com (with)
 Asier will get married *'with'* the young woman
- (5a) *Asierrek *e* hizkuntzalaritza ikasten duen jendeak jaia antolatu du.
 linguistics learn aux-n people party organize aux
 The people Jon studies linguistics (*'with'*) have organized a party
- (5b) Asierrek *jendea-re-kin* hizkuntzalaritza ikasten du.
 people-com
 Asier studies linguistics with the people

The only difference between the two kinds of PPs is that, whereas the first one is *simple* and has the structure in (6), the second group is *complex* and has the more elaborate structure in (7), a difference to which we will return below¹ (cf. de Rijk 1972):

(1) If the gap corresponds to a complex PP whose head is embedded in a complex PP of the same kind in the main sentence, then relativization is possible (de Rijk 1972); this is the so called *matching effect* that I will not address here. See Artiagoitia (section 7, forthcoming).



Extensive argumentation is given in the literature (Oyharçabal 1988, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Artiagoitia forthcoming) to prove that Basque relative clauses involve operator/variable configurations (as shown e.g. by Weak Cross-Over effects), where the operator is always phonologically null (Chomsky 1986a)². This predicts that wh-phrases cannot occur inside relative clauses:

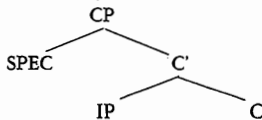
- (8) *Asierrek [Ainhoak nor deitu duen ordua] ahaztu du ?
 who call aux-n time forget aux
 Asier forgot the time that Ainhoa called who ?

However, as pointed out by Ortiz de Urbina (1989), for a wide range of speakers (though not for all), it is perfectly possible to have a wh-phrase inside relative clauses provided that the wh-phrase pied-pipes the whole NP containing the relative clause³:

- (9) [Nor deitu dudan ordua] ahaztu du Asierrek *t*? (cf. (8))
 Asier forgot the time that I called who ?
- (10) [Nora ihesegin duen presoak] atxilotu dute hertzainek *t*?
 where flee aux-n prisoner arrest aux police
 The police officers arrested the prisoner that fled where?
- (11) [Norentzat egin duzun pastela] jan du Ainhoak?
 who-for make aux-n cake eat aux
 Ainhoa ate the cake that I made for whom ?

Crucially, as noted by Artiagoitia (forthcoming), the answers to these questions must recapitulate the whole pied-piped structure, i.e. the whole syntactic island; otherwise, they turn out to be ungrammatical:

- (2) Although not a settled issue, I will consider here that Basque sentences have the structure



- (3) This is true whether the wh-phrase is an argument or an adjunct. *Zergatik* 'why', the reason adverbial, is the only exception to this:

- (i) *[Zergatik deitu dudan ordua] ahaztu du Asierrek *t*?
 Asier forgot [the time I called why] ?

If we accept Rizzi's (1990) arguments for always generating these adverbials in the specifier of Comp, the reason for this exception becomes clear: that position is already occupied by the null operator of the relative clause (cf. Artiagoitia forthcoming).

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| (12a) *Ainhua
(proper name) | 12b) Ainhua deitu duzun ordua
The time you called Ainhua |
| (13a) *Etxera
home-adl | (13b) Etxera ihes egin duen preso
The prisoner that fled home |
| (14a) *Asierrentzat
for Asier | (14b) Asierrentzat egin dudan pastela
The cake that I made for Asier |

Drawing on Pesetsky's (1987) *Felicitous Principle* (and references therein)⁴, Artiagoitia (forthcoming) contends that this proves that the wh-phrase in (9)-(11) remains *in situ* throughout the syntactic component but is still able to pied-pipe the syntactic island in which it is contained. As a result, Basque S-S resembles Japanese LF phenomena, but no problem arises for the operator-variable analysis of relative clause formation in Basque.

Returning now to sentences (2)-(5), which illustrate the different behavior of simple and complex PPs with respect to relativization, I argue in a separate study that PP is a bounding node (a "barrier" to movement) in Basque⁵; hence, in relative clauses where the gap corresponds to a simple PP (= (2a), (3a)), the operator-variable chain is formed across one bounding node or barrier; if the gap corresponds to a complex PP (= (4a), (5a)), two bounding nodes or barriers are crossed:

(15) OP_i ... [[t_i]NP] PP]

(16) *OP_i ... [[[t_i]NP] PP] PP]⁶

A Subjacency-based account of the facts first pointed out by de Rijk (1972) along the lines suggested above has a desirable effect: it predicts that *resumptive pronouns* (widely assumed to occur inside syntactic islands and non- or antisubjacent to their operators (cf. Safir 1986 and Contreras 1989) *should be possible where relativization is banned and, conversely, that resumptive pronouns do not occur precisely in those cases where relativization is possible*. In other words, a resumptive pronoun inside a simple PP (i.e. in the configuration of (15)) will yield an ungrammatical sentence, whereas a resumptive pronoun contained in a complex PP (i.e. in (16)) will not. This is correct:

- (17) *Ainhua ber_i-tan bizi den hiria_i urrun dago (cf. (2a))
(lit) The city Ainhua lives *in it* is far away

(4) *Felicitous Principle*

A felicitous answer to a wh-question consists of a phrase structurally identical to the wh-phrase whose index is immediately dominated by the Comp [Spec of Comp in Chomsky's 1986b system] of the question at LF. (Pesetsky 1987: 114)

In other words, if the wh-phrases in (9)-(11) were truly in the specifier position of Comp, the short answers to them should be grammatical.

(5) Artiagoitia (forthcoming) works within the *Barriers* (Chomsky 1986b) approach to Subjacency; in this article, however, due to its mainly descriptive approach and for ease of exposition, the more traditional system of bounding nodes has been used. Therefore, the terms "bounding node" and "barrier" are interchangeable.

(6) This account assumes that empty postpositions are licensed by the *Invisible Category Principle* (Emonds 1987: 618) in sentences (2)-(5) so that the true variable in the relative clause is an NP (contained in PP headed by (a) null postposition(s)). Cf. See Artiagoitia (forthcoming: section 3).

- (18) * Ainhoak *ber_i-tan* lanegiten duen eskola_i berria da (cf. (3a))
 (lit) The school Ainhoa works *at it* is brand new
- (19) Asier *bera_i-re-kin* ezkonduko den neska_i Bilbokoa da (cf. (4a))
 (lit) The young woman Asier will get married '*with her*' is from Bilbao
- (20) Asierrek *bera_i-re-kin* hizkuntzalaritza ikasten duen jendeak_i jaia antolatu du (cf. (5a))
 (lit) The people Asier studies linguistics *with them* have organized a party

We now turn to the analysis of tenseless relative clauses.

2. Two Types of Tenseless Relative Clauses

In this article I will be distinguishing two types of TRCs: Participial Relative Clauses, formed by attaching the suffixes *-ta* and *-ko* to a verbal stem bearing the participial endings *-n*, *-i* or *-tu*; and Infinitival Relatives, formed by attaching the same suffix *-ko* to a verbal stem bearing the nominalizing suffix *-tze/te*. The examples (22) and (24) illustrate the relevant structures:

- (21) Jauregia basoaren erdian eraikita dago.
 Palace-A wood-gen middle-loc built-ta stays
 The palace is built in the middle of the woods
- (22) Asierri ez zaio [arkitektoak eraiki-ta-ko jauregia NP] gustatzen
 Asier-D no aux architect-E built-ta-ko palace-A like
 Asier doesn't like the palace built by the architect
- (23) Trafikoa zain-tzea ez da zaila.
 traffic direct-tze-A no is difficult-A
 Directing the traffic is not difficult
- (24) [Trafikoa zain-tze-ko jendea NP] behar da.
 traffic-A direct-tze-ko people-A need aux
 People to direct the traffic are needed

The relative clause status of (22) seems indisputable; Ortiz de Urbina (1989) discusses several data similar to (22) when considering both tensed and tenseless relative clauses. As for the status of (24), the claim that it be regarded as a TRC may raise some eyebrows among Basque speakers, for the verbal noun (*-tze*) followed by the suffix *-ko* is also used to form purposive clauses:

- (25) Antolarzaileek hertzainak deitu dituzte trafikoa zaintzeko.
 organizers-E police-A call aux traffic-A direct-tze-ko
 The organizers called the police in order to direct the traffic

However, following Faraci (1974), it is possible to construct tests to differentiate purposive clauses from true TRCs. First of all, an infinitival relative forms a single syntactic (and phonological) constituent with the noun it modifies. Thus, the sen-

tence in italics in (26) can only be a relative clause if no pause exists between it and the head noun *hertzainak*:

- (26) *Trafikoa zaintzeko* hertzainak heldu dira.
 Traffic-A direct-tze-ko police-A arrive aux
 Police to direct the traffic have arrived

The inference of (26) is that some kind of police officers have arrived (the kind of police officers that direct the traffic); but there is no mention of the purpose of their arrival (to arrest someone perhaps). The very same sentence may have an interpretation where *trafikoa zaintzeko* has a purposive reading. Crucially, there has to be a pause between it and *hertzainak*:

- (27) *Trafikoa zaintzeko/* hertzainak heldu dira.
 To direct the traffic, police officers have arrived

Sentence (27) would be true if some police officers arrived in order to direct the traffic regardless of the unit they belong to. To show that *trafikoa zaintzeko* is not part of the NP headed by *hertzainak*, we can see that the whole purposive clause may be sentence-final:

- (28) *Hertzainak heldu dira trafikoa zaintzeko.*
 Policemen have arrived to direct the traffic

Naturally, (28) has exactly the same truth conditional value as (27), but is distinct from that of (26).

Further evidence of the distinction between purposive and relative clauses in Basque comes from gapping in conjoined phrases. A complex NP of the type exemplified in (26) can conjoin with a similar NP where the head noun leaves a gap and the article *ak* forms a single word with the relative clause (as if it were a headless relative clause). This is not possible at all in the case of purposive clauses:

- (29) [*Trafikoa zaintzeko* hertzainak NP] eta [ordena publikoa zain-
 traffic-A direct-tze-ko police-A and order public-A direct-
 tze-ko-Ø-ak NP] heldu dira
 tze-ko-Ø-pl-A
 Police officers to direct the traffic and those to keep public order have
 arrived
- (30) **Trafikoa zaintzeko/* hertzainak eta ordena publikoa zaintzekoak heldu
 dira
 (lit) To direct the traffic, police officers and those to keep public order
 have arrived

Pronominals are a third test which show that sentences like (26) are indeed TRCs. If we take a pro-NP form, say a demonstrative used as a pronoun, we see that it is impossible for the pronoun to leave out the relative clause since this is part of the constituent. This, of course, is not true of the purposive clause since it is not part of the NP:

- (31) Speaker A: Nik [etxean egiteko azterketak] maite ditut.
 I-E home-loc do-te-ko exams-A love aux
 (lit) I love [exams to do at home]
- Speaker B: Nik [(*etxean egiteko) horietxek] maite ditut
 those ones-A
 (lit) I love exactly [those ones (*to do at home)]
- (32a) Irakasleak eskolan egiteko/ ariketa bi eman digu
 teacher-E class-loc do-te-ko exercise two give aux
 The teacher has given us two exercises to do in class
- (b) Guri (etxean egiteko) beste bat eman digu
 we-D house-loc do-te-ko another one give aux
 He has given us another one (to do at home)

On empirical grounds, we can conclude, then, that different tests (i.e. truth conditional values, gapping, and pronominalization) reveal a clear distinction between infinitival relatives and purposive clauses in Basque, a grammatical fact that has been ignored in the Basque linguistic tradition⁷.

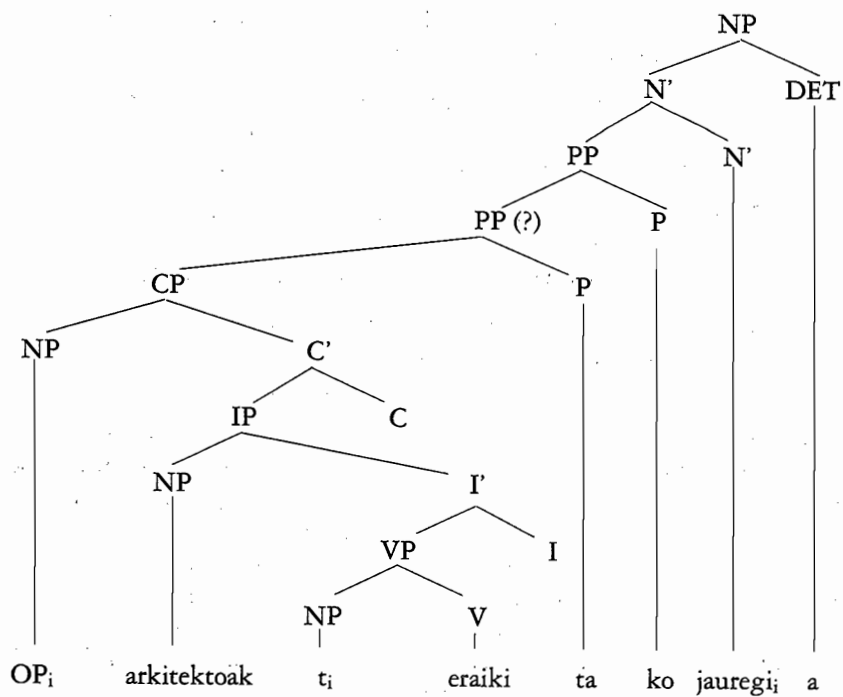
In the remainder of this article, I will assume that the exact structure of Participial and Infinitival relative clauses exemplified by (22) and (24) is roughly that in (33) and (34). Although alternative analyses of the internal structure of the two types of TRCs discussed here may exist, the main point to be made in this article can be sustained independently of them:

(7) The very fact that the relative clause can be extraposed out of the Complex Noun Phrase when the latter is sentence-final contributes to make the distinction more obscure:

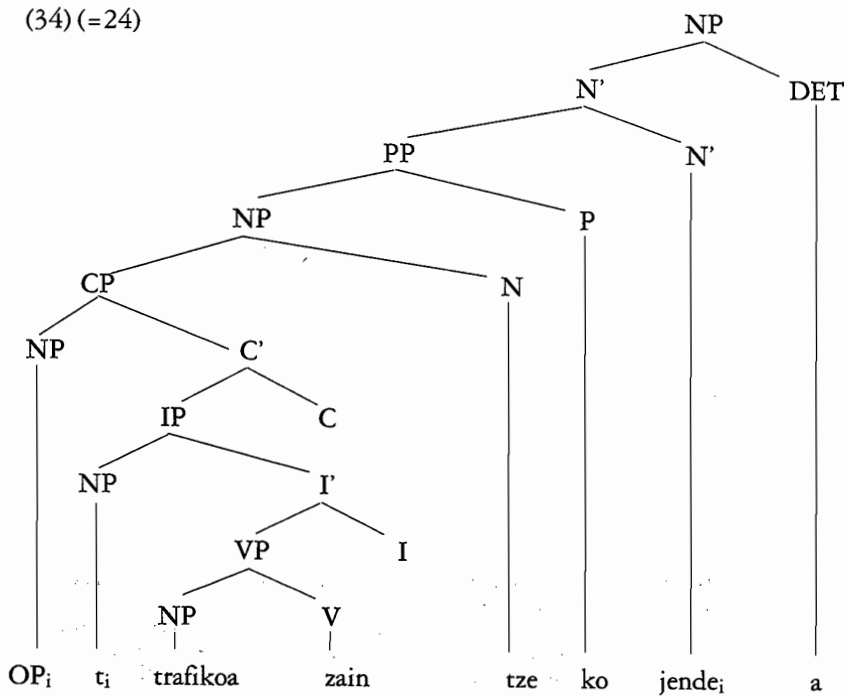
i. Eman digute [etxean egiteko azterketa bat] ii. Eman digute [[t_i] azterketa bat] [etxean egiteko]_i.
 They gave us [an exam to do at home] They gave us [[t_i] an exam] [to do at home]_i

(ii) is ambiguous, for it can also be interpreted as a purposive clause.

(33) (=22)



(34) (=24)



3. Participial Relatives

If the analysis sketched in the introduction is correct, we should expect participial relatives to behave like tensed relative clauses. For one thing, *wh*-phrases should only be able to occur inside a participial relative clause if they pied-pipe the whole complex NP in which they are contained (but not otherwise)⁸; any answer to such a question must then recapitulate the whole syntactic island. This prediction is borne out by the following data:

- (35) [OP_i ze nobelat_i idatzitako idazlea_i] ezagutu duzu zuk gaur?
 which novel-A written-ta-ko writer-A meet aux you-E today
 (lit) You met today the writer having written which novel?
- (36a) * “Bi Anai” (36b) “Bi Anai” idatzitako idazlea
 (lit) the writer having written “Bi Anai”
- (37) [OP_i t_i nora joandako neska_i] da zure laguna?
 where gone-ta-ko girl-A is you-gen friend
 (lit) The girl gone where is your friend?
- (38a) * Etxera (38b) Etxera joandako neska
 home (lit) the girl gone home

In (35) and (37), the two *wh*-phrases *ze nobela* and *nora* remain *in situ* (as shown by the fact that a short answer to them is impossible due to the Felicitous Principle) but are still able to pied-pipe the whole NP containing the relative clause to the matrix Specifier of Comp.

Another prediction of the analysis sketched in the introduction is that de Rijk's (1972) observation regarding tensed relative clauses should also be true of Participial Relative Clauses: simple PPs should allow relativization of the NP contained in them; complex PPs (i.e. PPs of the type [PP [PP NP] P] P), on the other hand, should exclude that possibility because each PP node will constitute a barrier. This turns out to be absolutely correct; locative, adlative, ablative and instrumental PPs can be “gaps” in participial relative clauses:

- (39) [OP_i Ainhua [PP[t_i] Ø] jaiotako herria_i] txukuna da.
 Ainhua-A born-ta-ko town-A cute is
 (lit) The town Ainhua been born is cute
 The town in which Ainhua was born is cute
- (40) [OP_i gu iaz oporretan [PP[t_i] Ø] joandako herria_i] txukuna da.
 we-E last year vacation-loc gone-ta-ko town-A cute is
 (lit) The town we gone on vacation last year is cute
 The town to which we went on vacation last year is cute

(8) Recall from the introduction that this option is not available for *all* speakers.

- (41) [OP_i Ainhoak [PP[t_i] Ø] ihes egindako espetxea_i] txikitu dute
 Ainhoa-E fled-ta-ko prison demolish aux
 (lit) The prison Ainhoa fled has been destroyed
 The prison from which Ainhoa escaped has been destroyed
- (42) [OP_i gu [PP[t_i] Ø] konturatutako arriskua_i] desagertu da.
 we-A realized-ta-ko risk disappear aux
 (lit) The risk we been aware has disappeared
 The risk we were aware of has disappeared

Other PPs, that is to say, commitative, benefactive and motivative, cannot:

- (43) *[OP_i Asier [PP[PP[t_i] Ø]Ø] ezkondutako neska_i] Bilbokoa da.
 Asier-A gotten married-ta-ko girl-A Bilbao-from is
 (lit) The girl Asier gotten married is from Bilbao
 The young woman Asier got married 'with' is from Bilbao
- (44) *[OP_i Ainhoak [PP[PP[t_i] Ø] Ø] loreak erositako mutila_i] Bilbokoa da.
 Ainhoa-E flowers-A bought-ta-ko boy-A
 (lit) The boy Ainhoa bought flowers is from Bilbao
 The guy Ainhoa bought flowers for is from Bilbao
- (45) *[OP_i Mutil gazteak [PP[PP[t_i] Ø] Ø] bere burua hildako
 young boy-E his head killed-ta-ko
 neska_i] ez da hemen bizi.
 girl-A no aux here live
 (lit) The girl the boy killed himself doesn't live here
 The young woman because of whom the boy killed himself doesn't live here

Assuming, as argued in the introduction, that the ICP licenses the presence of the empty Ps in (39)-(45), the difference between (39)-(42) and (43)-(45) can be reduced to the number of bounding nodes or barriers the operator crosses: one in the former case, two in the latter⁹. Crossing two barriers is what forces (39)-(42) to violate the Subjacency condition.

Nevertheless, resumptive pronouns will have the effect of making (43)-(45) grammatical, as expected:

- (46) [OP_i Asier *bera_i-re-kin* ezkondutako neska_i] Bilbokoa da.
 (lit) The young woman Asier gotten married '*with her*' is from Bilbao
- (47) [OP_i Ainhoak *bera_i-ren-tzat* loreak erositako mutila_i] Bilbokoa da.
 (lit) The guy Ainhoa bought flowers *for him* is from Bilbao

(9) Or perhaps no barrier if we consider the PPs in (39)-(42) true complements to the verb and are hence θ -marked and L-marked. See Artiagoitia (forthcoming: section 4).

(48) [OP_i Asierrek *bera_i-ren-gatik* bere burua hildako neska_i] ez da hemen bizi.

(lit) The young woman that Asier killed himself because of her doesn't live here

4. Infinitival Relatives

Not surprisingly and for the reasons already explained, infinitival relatives also disallow the presence of *wh*-phrases unless these pied-pipe the whole complex NP in which they are contained; in the latter case, the answer must recapitulate the entire pied-piped structure in accordance with the Felicitous Principle:

(49) *Ikasleek [OP_i PRO non t_i egiteko azterketak_i] nahiago dituzte?
 students-E where do-te-ko exams-A prefer aux
 (lit) students prefer exams to do where?¹⁰

(50) [OP_i PRO non t_i egiteko azterketak_i] nahiago dituzte ikasleek *t*?
 (lit) students prefer exams to do where?

(51a) *Etxean
 home-loc At home

(51b) [PRO etxean egiteko azterketak]
 Exams to do at home

The second prediction made in the introduction turns out to be correct: locative, adlative, ablative and instrumental PPs can be "gaps" in an infinitival relative:

(52) [OP_i PRO [PP[t_i] Ø] lo egiteko zaku_i] erosi dut.
 sleep-te-ko sack buy aux
 (lit) I bought a sack to sleep
 I bought a sleeping bag

(53) [OP_i PRO kotxez [PP[t_i] Ø] joateko mendiak_i] nahiago ditut (ez
 car-ins go-te-ko mountains-A prefer aux no
 oinez igotzekoak).
 foot-ins climb-tze-ko-Ø-A
 (lit) I prefer mountains to go by car, not those to go on foot
 I prefer mountains that one can get to by car and not those that one
 can get to on foot

(54) [OP_i PRO txirringaz [PP [t_i] Ø] ibiltzeko errepide gutxi_i] dago Euskal
 bike-ins ride-te-ko road few is Basque
 Herrian.
 Country-loc
 (lit) There are few roads in the Basque Country to go by bike
 There are few roads in the Basque Country to go along/through by bike

(10) It is not clear that the empty category in subject position must be PRO (and not, say, *pro*), for it alternates with case-marked lexical subjects. Since this does not affect the point I am making, I remain neutral on this issue. See Ortiz de Urbina (1989: 165 ff) and Goenaga (1985) for a possible account of this problem.

- (55) Lertxundik [OP_i PRO [PP [t_i] Ø] tristeak kontsolatzeko] makina;_i
 Lertxundi-E sad-A console-tze-ko machine-A
 asmatu zuen
 invent aux
 (lit) Lertxundi invented a machine to console sad people
 Lertxundi invented a machine to console sad people with¹¹

Complex PPs, once again, resist relativization, as predicted:

- (56) *Asierrek [OP_i PRO [PP[t_i] Ø] loreak erosteko neskalagun;_i
 Asier flowers-A buy-te-ko girlfriend
 gehiegi] du
 too many has
 (lit) Asier has too many girlfriends to buy flowers
 Asier has too many girlfriends to buy flowers for
- (57) *Guk [OP_i PRO [PP[t_i] Ø] politikaz eztabaidatzeko jendea;_i
 we-E politics-ins discuss-tze-ko people-A
 behar dugu¹².
 need aux
 (lit) We need people to discuss politics
 We need people to discuss politics with
- (58) *Ez dago munduan [OP_i PRO [PP[t_i] Ø] neure burua hiltzeko
 no is word-loc my head kill-tze-ko
 pertsonarik_i].
 person-part
 (lit) There is no person in the world to kill myself
 There is no person in the word because of whom to kill myself

Throughout the article and based on our own previous work, we have attributed the ungrammaticality of sentences like (56)–(58) to violations of the Subjacency Condition: the two PPs act as “barriers” for movement of the operator to the specifier position of Comp; resumptive pronouns, then, should rescue those sentences from ungrammaticality, as expected:

- (59) [OP_i Asierrek *berai-en-tzat* loreak erosteko neskalagun; gehiegi] du.
 (lit) Asier has too many girlfriends to buy flowers *for them*
- (60) Guk [OP_i PRO *bera-re-kin* politikaz eztabaidatzeko jendea;_i] behar dugu.
 (lit) We need people to discuss politics *with them*

(11) A somewhat different interpretation is also available if *makina* is interpreted as the subject of the relative rather than as a “missing” instrumental PP.

(12) The sentence is grammatical under the interpretation whereby *jendea* is understood as the subject of the relative clause.

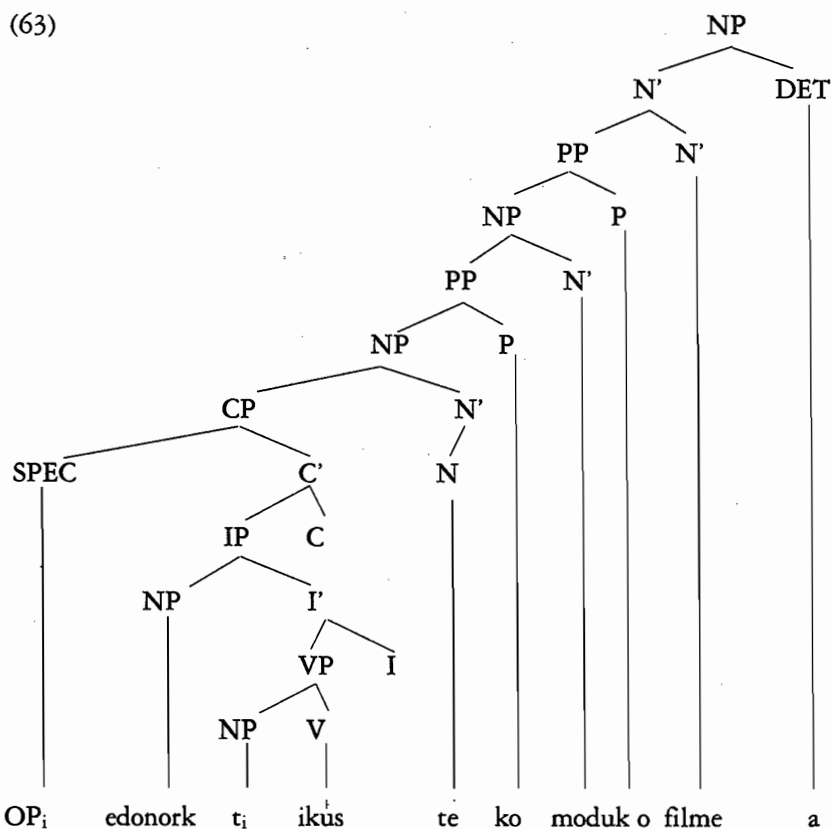
- (61) Ez dago munduan [OP_i PRO *bera_i-ren-gatik* neure burua hiltzeko pertsonarik].
 (lit) There is no person in the world to kill myself *because of him/her*

5. Another Type of Infinitival Relative In Biscayan Basque

In Biscayan Basque, there is a second way to construct infinitival relatives by inserting the dummy noun *modu* 'kind, type' and the suffix *ko* between the head noun and the relative. (62) is an example of this type of relative:

- (62) Hori [OP_i edonork t_i ikusteko moduko filmea_i] da.
 That anyone-E see type-ko film is
 That is a movie for anyone to see

(62) would be best translated as 'this is the kind of movie for anyone to see'. A diagram representing its structure is given below:



This construction, which has not been dealt with at all in the Basque generative tradition, provides striking confirmation of the overall uniformity of relative clauses in Basque. Once again, the construction allows for the presence of a *wh*-phrase

inside it as long as it pied-pipes the whole island; an answer must recapitulate the entire pied-piped structure:

- (64) [[OP_i PRO nori t_i erakusteko moduko argazkia] atera duzu?
 who-D show-te-ko type-ko picture take aux
 (lit) You have taken a picture of the type to show to whom?
 You have taken the kind of picture to show to whom?
- (65a) *Ainhoari
 Ainhoa-D to Ainhoa
- (65b) Ainhoari erakusteko moduko argazkia
 (lit) A picture of the kind to show to Ainhoa
 The kind of picture to show to Ainhoa

And, not surprisingly, it allows for the relativization of locative, adlative, ablative and instrumental PPs:

- (66) Hau [edonor bizitzeko moduko etxea] da.
 This anyone-A live type-ko house-A is
 (lit) This is a house of the kind for anyone to live
 This is the kind of house for anyone to live in
- (67) Lekeitio [oporretan joateko moduko herria] da.
 Lekeitio-A vacation-loc go-te-ko town-A is
 (lit) Lekeitio is a town of the kind to go on vacation
 Lekeitio is the kind of town to go to on vacation
- (68) Herrera [inork ihes ez egiteko moduko espetxea] da.
 Herrera-A anybody-E flee no te-ko prison-A is
 (lit) Herrera is a prison of the kind for anybody not to escape
 Herrera is the kind of prison for nobody to escape from
- (69) Ainhoa [edonor maitemintzeko moduko neska] da.
 Ainhoa-A anyone fall in love girl is
 (lit) Ainhoa is a girl of the kind for anyone to fall in love¹³
 Ainhoa is the kind of woman for anyone to fall in love with

Expectedly, complex PPs cannot be relativized:

- (70) *Asier [edonor ezkontzeko moduko mutila] da.
 Asier anyone-A get married boy-A is
 (lit) Asier is a boy of the kind for anyone to get married
 Asier is the kind of guy for anyone to get married 'with'

(13) *Maitemindu* 'to fall in love' subcategorizes for an instrumental PP. In some dialects it requires a comitative (i.e. "complex") PP; speakers of these dialects will reject sentences like (69).

- (71) *Asier [loreak erosteko moduko mutila] da.
 Asier flowers-A buy boy-A is
 (lit) Asier is a boy of the kind to buy flowers
 Asier is the kind of guy to buy flowers for
- (72) *Ez dago munduan [(nik) neure burua hiltzeko moduko pertsonarik]
 no is world-loc I-E myself kill type person-part
 (lit) There is no person in the world of the kind (for me) to kill myself
 There is no kind of person in the world because of whom (for me) to kill myself

On the same grounds as in previous sections, resumptive pronouns again rescue sentences (70)-(72) from violating the Subjacency Condition:

- (73) Asier [OP_i edonor *bera_i-re-kin* ezkontzeko moduko mutila_i] da.
 (lit) Asier is a boy of the type for anyone to get married 'with' him
 Asier is the kind of guy for anyone to get married 'with him'
- (74) Asier [OP_i PRO *bera_i-ren-tzat* loreak erosteko moduko mutila_i] da.
 (lit) Asier is a boy of the type to buy flowers for him
 Asier is the kind of guy to buy flowers for him
- (75) Ez dago munduan [(nik) *bera-_i-ren-gatik* neure burua hiltzeko moduko
 no is world-loc I-E s/he-cin myself kill type
 pertsonarik]
 person
 (lit) There is no person in the world of the type to kill myself *because of him/her*
 There is no kind of person in the world (for me) to kill myself *because of him/her*

6. Summary

In this article, by providing data concerning three different kinds of tenseless relative clauses in Basque, I have shown that the empirical domain of relativization facts in Basque extends well beyond the limits discussed by previous studies on the subject and, moreover, that the unified treatment of relativization in Basque suggested in Artiagoitia (forthcoming) can provide a satisfactory solution to the entire paradigm.

References

- Artiagoitia, X., 1990, *A Unified Account of Relativization in Basque*. University of Washington MA thesis.
- , forthcoming, "Why Basque doesn't relativize everything". In *Syntactic Theory and Basque Syntax*. J. Lakarra and J. Ortiz de Urbina eds. Donostia: ASJU monographs, n° 27.

- Chomsky, N., 1986a, *Knowledge of Language*. Praeger, New York.
- , 1986b, *Barriers*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Contreras, H., 1989, 'A Modular Approach to Syntactic Islands'. University of Washington manuscript.
- De Rijk, R., 1972, *Studies in Basque Syntax: Relative Clauses*. MIT Ph.D. dissertation.
- Emonds, J., 1985, *A Unified Theory of Syntactic Categories*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- , 1987, 'The Invisible Category Principle'. *LI* 18, 613-632.
- Eguzkitza, A., 1986, *Topics in the Syntax of Basque and Romance*. UCLA Ph.D. dissertation.
- Faraci, R., 1974, *Aspects of the Grammar of Infinitives and For-Phrases*. MIT Ph.D. dissertation.
- Goenaga, P., 1985, *Euskal Sintaxia: Konplementazioa eta Nominalizazioa*. EHU-UPV Ph.D. dissertation.
- Ortiz de Urbina, J., 1989, *Parameters in the Grammar of Basque*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Oyharçabal, B., 1986, 'Erlatibakuntza: perpaus erlatiboaren egitura; izen erlatibatuaren beta-kizuna haren barnean'. *Euskal sintaxiaren zenbait arazo*. Salaburu, P. ed. Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.
- , 1988, 'Operatzaile isila euskarazko perpaus erlatiboetan'. *ASJU* XXII-1, 93-97.
- , 1989, 'The Pro-drop Parameter and the Resumptive Pronoun Strategy in Basque'. *Configurationality. The Typology of Asymmetries*. Marácz, L. and Muyskens, P. eds. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Pesetsky, D., 1987, "Wh-in-situ: Movement and Unselective Binding". In *The Representation of (In)definiteness*. E. Reuland and A. Ter Meulen eds. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L., 1990, *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Safir, K., 1986, "Relative Clauses in a Theory of Binding and Levels". *LI* 17, 663-689.